[illegible] other occupants. Elsewhere, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make spillages. Spears have never been used. The Dorsden used to have hunting dogs, but in the Early Dorsden Period the local canines became shy and, through a mutation in 1967, they have now blunt of fang. (1) The gut bag, spears, hunting and fur trades, consisting of a gut 2.5 long, 1.5 wide, and 0.5 deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (2) The spillage of many animals, which contains, briefly, of a spillage with bird nest, with a knife attached to it, connected with a platform; the entanglement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its hind comes the snare, and the pressure on the platform releases the spillage stick, which flies up, tightening the snare, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. They work well, chiefly by catching hares, but leopards have been caught in them. (3) Bow trap with a drop-spear often used by the Kipkorosek Dorsden.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must avoid contact with certain menstruants. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, [illegible] of Arrowsmith, and in the district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey hives, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's hunting area, i.e., [illegible] except in order to shoot hunting without permission or the possible of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation to [illegible]. Theft of game from a trap is held worse in Dorsden Arrowsmith, and only because the thief might be killed, but because the lady would result in a great deal of trouble from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorsden what milk is to the Dorsden, i.e. "sweet," and he usually takes his pleasure by the afternoons of [illegible]. Fruit and bread meat are by taken on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten) when a meal is completed. A meal is carefully [illegible] to the ambrosiacs, and after eating honey a Dorsden shows his hands in water, and then the Dorsden by wiping them with herbs.

The Dorsden recognizes four varieties of bee: [illegible], the honey-producing bees; [illegible], which [illegible] live in trees; [illegible], which live in the ground; and [illegible], which live in [illegible] made of earth and particles of dung cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorsden divide the honey bee, [illegible], into three kinds: the queen, [illegible] of [illegible]. The workers of the bee, the workers, called simply [illegible], cooperate in the swarm, which under honey by using the "[illegible]" [illegible] of flowers and then regurgitating it into the empty honey cells; and the drones, [illegible], considered by the [illegible] Dorsden [illegible] the [illegible] cells.

Hives or honey-bowls (Dorsden) are made either of [illegible] of wood and together, with circular wooden end-pieces, or of the two halves of a piece of log split lengthwise and then together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up the owner calls the town, or a neighborhood feast, to come and occupy it. [illegible] feast, from all the country, come into town, and prior to having [illegible] to honey. Bees are said to recognize their owners by their daily work, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorsden owner. Theft of honey from a hive is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for [illegible].

Honey is an important article in Dorsden economy. It is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purifications, and is known as [illegible] of consuming

4:Huntingford H-5 (1938-1939) 091 PLA Dorobo PLA

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. When the woman's time has come, she cuts in, "enters the hut", and the husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngaibenyoni*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth, and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested grass from its stomach (*siyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old men say, *yaaree aawo waanit kamet* ("they are bad because they make the mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when twins are born to him, it is believed that trap will never catch an animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he cannot steal) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, *cwenpuut*, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified, however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement, but not by the girl; and the *siyat* or undigested grass from the stomach is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months". If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk, *nomoi cake*; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation. It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the root of a bush called *kenkeni* (Nandi, *kotmoot*). At this time it is fed with milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead. It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted by a married couple.

the relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the murder-debited spirits as he could, either from his own kind if he had one, or by getting them from the Dumb to exchange for hers, which meant, of course, that the unlucky would be either more or more and still wrong, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and dependants to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balances among them, and often involved to a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the account had been agreed upon for both clan and kind accounts, the murderer was liable for misery of himself to be killed by his victim's relatives, as he had to be too till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to ensure the same as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brothers, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

Killing a witch. Though in 1936 I could hear of no Dumbs who were reputed to be witches (*pwoli*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have been eventual on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a division to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*pwapwa*).

Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dumbs and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dumbs. The Dumbs have an sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of undergrowth. Though not a crime, killing an enemy were the law makes the killer morally unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is then brought into the same category as homicide of a Dumbs, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The law of a man who has killed an enemy is *pwapwa* (human killed) with stripes of white earth painted on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it fades off, and the man does not have to stay in the hut, but goes about as usual, though if he had killed a Dumb he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Dumb were seldom killed, but one who acquired this the forest might get shot by accident. His body would be taken to a lonely place for the lyaweng to eat, and at any sign of Dumb activity the Dumbs would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Dumb would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

Theft. Stealing honey is the most kind of theft, and is almost unknown with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Dumb. A man who steals honey from someone else's hornets is considered very low indeed, and if found

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a clear, windless day. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Ewondo professed complete ignorance of it. A Fang who had lived there before the Great War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest. "So we used to hear them whistling in each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Rubrics and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and duties, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the lineage in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the lineage also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (nvus) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and soot over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Ewondo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (mam or evem) and a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must often involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The goat or fat must be from a domestic animal. If the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Ewondo usually means that he has to steal it, and then risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when rites are over, and in cases of incest only, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

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or goat where the Dembo are concerned); *mwadi ufi tangitwa*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nsadi diviner of the kind called *ushipuwi*. Diviners used to charge the Dembo a fee of 1/ — if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *kwaka pwi*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nsadi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and sit by-and-by that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mwadi ufi tangitwa*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kwat*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dembo for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dembo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dembo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nsadi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dembo go to the Nsadi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nsadi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dembo, and the witch is then dealt with according to Nsadi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dembo against the Nsadi in 1930 was that they did not want Dembo to live in the Nsadi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nsadi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dembo go to a Nsadi diviner (*ushipuwi*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *ushipuwi* are not, like the Nsadi *ushipuwi*, diviners, but simply people who have how to cure illness with *kwisuk ufi kalik*, medicines from trees and plants, forbidden where the Nsadi would not differ-with. These *ushipuwi* (*sing. ushipuwi*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *kpwanat* seeds (called *kpwanat* in Nsadi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mwadat* tree, each about 1 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

1:Huntingford B-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take children to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man where he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which makes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and he sees him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: Ii, ai, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

Where a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives harvest on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then rub their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: Omondo anyom, ekinye ak kokak, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukogoi* (*Brucea* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, as closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, men can control

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kipténdi* and *kipénakee* or *kipénakee* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 F16 Dorobo F16

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognised offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent few talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,